

Message Text

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47

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-07

COME-00 TRSE-00 INT-05 AID-05 OMB-01 EUR-12 XMB-02

FRB-03 FEAE-00 GSA-01 EA-06 STR-04 /101 W

----- 010436

R 131850Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7687

INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS

AMEMBASSY MEXICO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KINGSTON 1833

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JM, XL, MX, VE

SUBJECT: THE LATINS ARE COMING, THE LATINS ARE COMING

1. SUMMARY: THIS TELEGRAM DISCUSSES THE MANLEY GOVERNMENT COURTSHIP OF VENEZUELA AND MEXICO, ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE US-OWNED BAUXITE/ALUMINA COMPANIES AND THE GOJ, AND CONCLUDES THAT THE MANLEY INITIATIVE WILL BE OF LITTLE LONG-TERM BENEFIT TO THE STATUS OF MANLEY AS A THIRD WORLD LEADER.

2. ABOUT MID-1973 PM MANLEY BEGAN TO UTILIZE THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE CARIBBEAN IN THE SERVICE OF JAMAICAN FOREIGN POLICY. HE USED THE PHRASE "CARIBBEAN BASIN" IN A POLITICAL CONTEXT WHEN HE CALLED FOR INCREASING CONTACT AND COOPERATION AMONG BOTH CARIBBEAN COMMONWEALTH AND LATIN COUNTRIES AROUND THIS BASIN. THE OCCASION WAS VENEZUELA'S ACCESSION TO THE CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, WHOSE MEMBERSHIP UP TO THAT TIME HAD BEEN EXCLUSIVELY COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN, THE UK AND CANADA. (THE US IS A MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR BUT NOT A MEMBER). THE ORIGINAL COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY (CARICOM) WAS SEEN AS MERELY A STEPPING STONE TOWARD A WIDER
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REGIONAL GROUPING WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THE CARIBBEAN LATIN

COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY VENEZUELA AND MEXICO, AND PROVIDE ALTERNATIVES TO TRADITIONAL JAMAICAN DEPENDENCE ON THE US AND UK.

3. THIS INITIATIVE TOWARD THE LATINS STRENGTHENED AND ACCELERATED IN 1974, AND IS CONTINUING INTO 1975. IN 1974 BOTH THE MEXICAN PRESIDENT AND HIS WIFE MADE SEPARATE OFFICIAL VISITS TO JAMAICA, AND MANLEY EXPECTS TO TRAVEL TO MEXICO AND CUBA THIS YEAR. JAMAICAN MINISTER OF MINING AND NATURAL RESOURCES ISAACS TRAVELED TO BOTH MEXICO AND VENEZUELA, AND THERE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE INTERCHANGE AMONG THESE COUNTRIES ON THE PART OF LOWER-LEVEL OFFICIALS AND TECHNICIANS. IN ADDITION TO SIGNING AGREEMENTS FOR GREATER CULTURAL, TECHNICAL, AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES, THE HIGH POINT OF THE MEXICAN INITIATIVE, AS FAR AS THE JAMAICANS WERE CONCERNED, WAS THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A JOINT VENTURE TO BUILD AN ALUMINA PLANT IN JAMAICA AND A SMELTER IN MEXICO. SIMILARLY, THE VENEZUELAN PRESIDENT CAME TO JAMAICA, AND PM MANLEY, ACCOMPANIED BY BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR OFFICIALS, RETURNED THE VISIT. AGAIN, THE JAMAICAN INITIATIVE CULMINATED IN THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF VENEZUELAN INVESTMENT IN AN ALUMINA PLANT IN JAMAICA, AGREEMENT TO JOINTLY FINANCE A SMELTER IN VENEUELA, AND, IN ADDITION, PRESUMABLY A GUARANTEED SUPPLY OF OIL INCLUDING A PRICE REBATE TO BE USED AS A DEVELOPMENT FUND. BESIDES THESE BILATERAL ACTIONS, JAMAICA JOINED OLADE, THE LATIN AMERICAN ENERGY ASSOCIATION.

4. FROM AN ECONOMIC STANDPOINT, ALL OF THESE POLITICAL INITIATIVES APPEAR TO BE TIED TO BAUXITE, I.E. MANLEY'S DECISION TO NEGOTIATE NEW CONTRACTS WITH THE US BAUXITE/ALUMINA COMPANIES, EXPAND THE INDUSTRY, AND LESSEN JAMAICAN DEPENDENCE ON THE US FOR BOTH FINANCING AND MARKETING. FOR THE SAME REASON, MANLEY FOUNDED THE INTERNATIONAL BAUXITE ASSOCIATION, WHICH AS AN INFANT PRODUCER ASSOCIATION AND IMPLIED THREAT TO LARGE US TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS, GREATLY ENHANCED HIS PRESTIGE AS A THIRD WORLD LEADER.

5. IF ONE MEASURE OF SUCCESS IS THE AMOUNT OF SPACE A
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COUNTRY'S LEADER HAS RECEIVED IN THE FOREIGN PRESS, THEN MANLEY HAS BEEN MODERATELY SUCCESSFUL. (MUCH OF THIS PUBLICITY HAS, OF COURSE, BEEN RELATED TO HIS NEGOTIATION WITH THE US BAUXITE INDUSTRY SINCE IT INVOLVED BOTH ABROGATION OF CONTRACTS AND THE LEGISLATIVE IMPOSITION OF A NEW TAX.) ONE OF THE REASONS FOR MANLEY'S THIRD WORLD LEADERSHIP IS THAT JAMAICA, AS A COMMONWEALTH COUNTRY, SHARES A NUMBER OF TRADITIONS WITH BOTH THE

DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD. AS PM OF A COMMON-WEALTH COUNTRY AND RECENT EX-COLONY, HAS ACCESS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT; AS PM OF A BLACK COUNTRY HE CAN IDENTIFY WITH THE AFRICANS. PART OF P.J. PATERSON'S SUCCESS AS A NEGOTIATOR BETWEEN EEC AND ACP COUNTRIES WAS BECAUSE HE TAKE ADVANTAGE OF A COMMON TRADITION AND BRIDGE BOTH WORLDS. IN SHORT, JAMAICA SHARES A COMMON LANGUAGE, A COMMON PARLIAMENTARY TRADITION, A COMMON LEGAL SYSTEM WITH MANY COUNTRIES, BOTH DC AND LDC, WHICH MANLEY HAS ALREADY UTILIZED TO HIS ADVANAGE.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

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COME-00 TRSE-00 INT-05 AID-05 OMB-01 EUR-12 XMB-02

FRB-03 FEAE-00 GSA-01 EA-06 STR-04 /101 W

----- 011417

R 131850Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7688

INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KINGSTON 1833

6. HOWEVER, AS RECENTLY AS THE OLADE MEETING HELD IN KINGSTON, MANLEY DISCOVERED THAT PUBLICITY IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR POWER. DECLARATIONS OF SUPPORT FOR OPEC COUNTRIES AND ONE'S THIRD WORLD BRETHREN DO NOT SUBSTITUTE FOR ENERGY SOURCES; THE TERMS OF TRADE MAY CHANGE BUT GEOLOGY DOES NOT; AND AN ENERGY "HAVE NOT" IS UNLIKELY TO BE A POLICY MAKER IN SUCH A FORUM. IN FACT, MANLEY'S OPENING SPEECH WAS A PLEA FOR ASSISTANCE, A RATHER STRIKING DEPARTURE FROM HIS USUAL MORE MILITANT LDC RHETORIC. AND THERE WAS LITTLE OPPORTUNITY TO EXERCISE PERSUASION AT THE KINGSTON MEETING. OLADE IS ASLATIN-DOMINATED ORGANIZATION; ITS CHIEF DELEGATE - THE VENEZUELA - HARED OFF

TO EUROPE TO ATTEND AN OPEC MEETING, AND IT WAS FAIRLY OBVIOUS JAMAICAN MEMBERSHIP IN THE ORGANIZATION WOULD NOT BE SYNONYMOUS WITH JAMAICAN LEADERSHIP.

7. AS A SMALL COUNTRY WITHOUT MANY RESOURCES, THE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE JAMAICA CAN EXERCISE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE WILL ULTIMATELY DEPEND ON ITS ALLIES, THE AMOUNT OF POWER THEY POSSESS, AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY WILL UTILIZE IT IN SUPPORT OF OBJECTIVES COMMON TO BOTH. JAMAICA HAS ONE RESOURCE, BAUXITE. IT CAN UNILATERALLY
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AFFECT ONLY ONE COUNTRY, THE US, AND ONLY BECAUSE THE US IS DEPENDENT ON JAMAICA FOR MORE THAN HALF OF ITS SUPPLY. SINCE BAUXITE IS A WASTING ASSET AND OTHER SOURCES WILL EVENTUALLY BE FOUND, IN THE LONG RUN JAMAICA'S LEVERAGE ON THE US WILL DISAPPEAR. THE FOUNDING OF THE IBA WAS AN ATTEMPT TO WIDEN THE BASIS FOR LEVERAGE. ALTHOUGH JAMAICA WILL HAVE AN IMPORTANT INPUT, THIS IS A MULTI-LATERAL GROUPING AND IT WILL NOT NECESSARILY SPEAK WITH "A JAMAICAN VOICE". THE MEMBERSHIP OF AUSTRALIA, WHICH JOINED THE ORGANIZATION FOR FOREIGN POLICY AS OPPOSED TO PRODUCER REASONS, HAS ALREADY HAD A DILUTING EFFECT. FOUR OF THE SEVEN MEMBERS BELONG TO THE COMMONWEALTH, BUT AS THE MEMBERSHIP GROWS AND INCLUDES, FOR EXAMPLE, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, IN ADDITION TO PRESENT MEMBERS GUINEA, SURINAM, AND YUGOSLAVIA, JAMAICAN ABILITY TO CONTROL AND INFLUENCE THE ORGANIZATION MAY VERY WELL DIMINISH.

8. IN HIS DETERMINATION TO FORGE NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH VENEZUELA AND MEXICO AND SHED SOME OF HIS TRADITIONAL ONES, PM MANLEY SEEMS TO BE GIVING UP HIS LONG-TERM NATURAL ADVANTAGES FOR LATIN ASSURANCES. THERE IS NOTHING LATIN ABOUT JAMAICA OR THE COMMONWEALTH, OR COMMONWEALTH ABOUT VENEUELA OR MEXICO. THE LATINS DO NOT SHARE THEIR HERITAGE OF LANGUAGE, CULTURE, PARLIAMENTARY TRADITION, LEGAL SYSTEM, "OLD BOYS' CLUB," ETC. FURTHERMORE, MANY LATINS CONSIDER "NEGROES" AND "INDIOS" MOST EMPHATICALLY NOT EQUALS. EVEN THE EX-COLONIAL TRADITION IS DIFFERENT, AND THERE ARE MANY WHO WOULD SAY ENGLISH IMPERIALISM WAS BENIGN COMPARED TO SPANISH. AS ALREADY EVIDENCED IN THE OAS, THERE IS LATIN HOSTILITY TO THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN MINI-STATES. MANLEY DOES NOT YET APPEAR TO HAVE RECOGNIZED THE REAL IMPLICATIONS OF MEXICAN, AND ESPECIALLY VENEZUELAN, INTEREST IN HIS COUNTRY, NOR HOW FIRMLY IN THEIR ORBIT JAMAICA COULD BE, HAVING FEW RESOURCES OF ITS OWN. PERHAPS BECAUSE HE LACKS EXPERIENCE WITH LATINS, HE DOES NOT SEEM COGNIZANT OF HOW DIFFERENT THEY REALLY ARE FROM THIS TRADITION. SUPER MANLEY WILL EVENTUALLY LEARN THAT EXCHANGING US OR UK DOMINATION (CALL IT

IMPERIALISM IF YOU MUST) FOR LATIN DOMINATION IS EXCHANGING
A SURLY, INDIFFERENT UNCLE WITH A GUILT COMPLEX FOR A
DEMANDING AND DIFFICULT LATIN MISTRESS. AND WHEN THE
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RELATIONSHIP BECOMES ONEROUS, AS IT PROBABLY WILL, MANLEY'S
COMMONWEALTH THIRD WORLD CREDENTIALS WILL BE OF LITTLE
VALUE.
GERARD

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRIME MINISTER, FOREIGN RELATIONS, SPEECHES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975KINGST01833
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750169-0409
From: KINGSTON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750558/aaaacahz.tel
Line Count: 236
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ARA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10 SEP 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <10 SEP 2003 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <11 SEP 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: THE LATINS ARE COMING, THE LATINS ARE COMING
TAGS: PFOR, JM, XL, MX, VE, (MANLEY, MICHAEL N)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006